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ABSTRACT

In this paper, the authors attempt to provide a basic outline of what is known about the determinants of success or failure in school financial elections. The research, conducted since 1960, comes from several academic disciplines, employs a wide variety of techniques and methods, and is geographically representative of the United States. Significant findings, drawn from an analysis of over 100 empirical research reports, are integrated with partial theories based on economic self-interest, socioeconomic status, community responsibility and distance attitudes, and a politicized electorate versus an informed democratic electorate. Research that outlines the groups of voters most likely to vote "yes" on school financial issues and that contrasts them with those voters most likely to vote "no" is also summarized. The authors comment on changes in the traditional voting patterns in school financial elections and the trend toward increasing defeat of school financial issues by groups that have traditionally supported such issues. An appendix comprises a synthesization of the research reviewed and shows dependent and independent variables as correlates by "yes" voting and election success; and a 238-item bibliography on voter behavior in school financial elections. (Author/EA)

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Voting in School Financial Elections

some partial theories

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1

Introduction

The importance of the marked increase in negative voting in school financial elections is, of course, obvious to those concerned with running the schools. But the fact remains that few administrators understand the dynamics behind this increased negative response. Many school officials still operate according to antiquated and oversimplified assumptions that lack empirical substantiation. For example, administrators have traditionally believed that increasing the number of voters in school financial elections will automatically result in a corresponding increase in the number of positive votes. In other words, the greater the turnout, the greater the chances for passing a financial issue. However, research indicates that the converse of this assumption is true: the greater the turnout, the lower the chances are that the issue will pass.

In order to dispel such misconceptions as well as to improve our ability to understand, explain, and predict voter behavior, we have thoroughly reviewed the research dealing with voting in school financial elections. This paper is the product of our efforts

to extract and synthesize the results of empirical research on voting behavior. This research, all of which was conducted since 1960, comes from several academic disciplines, employs a wide variety of techniques and methods, and is geographically representative of the United States. This paper summarizes the significant findings from more than a hundred empirical research reports in both published and unpublished form. We have integrated these findings with partial theories and assessed the collective nature of these theories. Partial theories based on economic self-interest, socioeconomic status, community responsibility and social distance attitudes, and a politicized electorate versus an informed democratic electorate are among the ones extracted from our review of the data. We have also summarized research that outlines the groups of voters most likely to vote yes on school financial issues as contrasted with those most likely to vote no. As a result of our work, we believe that this paper provides a basic outline of what is known about the determinants of success or failure in school financial elections.

We have intended this paper to improve the links between past, present, and future research, as well as to reinforce the connections between research undertaken at different levels and research with different disciplinary and theoretic perspectives. The evidence in this paper may be used by individuals attempting to affect the outcome of school financial elections, thereby serving to strengthen the relationship between research and practice. However, our intent has not been to write a "how to win a school election" manual. We believe that the information contained in this paper is potentially interesting and relevant to a wide audience—to all persons (administrators and taxpayers) who have a financial stake in the public schools.

2

Differences in Focus

Although all the research reports that form the data base for this paper examine voting behavior in school financial elections, subtle but important differences in point of view suggest that this research may be classified into two groups. Some investigations focus on determinants of voter behavior, others on the determinants of election outcome.*

Research of the first kind examines the effect of a number of potentially salient influencing factors (independent variables) on a citizen's decision to participate in a school financial election and to vote yes or no (the dependent variable). These studies commonly employ survey methodology and are conducted in a limited geo-

*This point is forcefully made by Peter B. Natchez in his excellent critical review of studies of voting in American presidential elections; "Images of Voting: The Social Psychologists," *Public Policy*, 18 (Summer 1970), 553-588. For an up-to-date review that makes this distinction between voting studies, see Evron M. Kirkpatrick, "Toward a More Responsible Two-Party System," *American Political Science Review*, 65 (December 1971), 971-974.

graphical area over a short period. Despite these limitations in methodology and scope, the results of these studies, on the whole, provide a fairly accurate profile of the voters who consistently vote yes and those who consistently vote no in normal school financial elections.

By focusing on election outcome, the second kind of study generally covers a much wider geographical area and time period. Hence, the results of these studies form the basis for more accurate generalizations. However, many important characteristics that make up a profile of the individual voter cannot be derived from a comparison of aggregates as large as school districts or communities. The heterogeneity of most school districts or communities precludes analysis of many important factors.

Figure 1 illustrates schematically the different focuses of most election studies. The space encompassed by circle 1 on the left side of the unit of analysis continuum represents research designed to test specific correlates to voter choice. Studies that fit in the space encompassed by circle 3 on the right side of the continuum focus on election outcome.

Both kinds of studies are based on certain assumptions that may or may not be explicitly stated in the research reports. Studies of voter behavior agree with the partisan voting literature in assuming that an "array of forces" (Campbell and others 1966) predetermines or shapes the choice of most voters.* The conclusion to be drawn from this assumption is that the more that is known about the order and salience of these underlying forces, the more specific will be the description (profile) of the "normal" voter. The first task of studies applying this conclusion to partisan elections is to define and identify "normal" Democratic, Republican, and Independent voters, and the strength of their partisan ties.** The second task is to define and trace a profile of the easily influenced or inconsistent voter. This profile provides background for understanding voter deviations from expectations based on the norm.

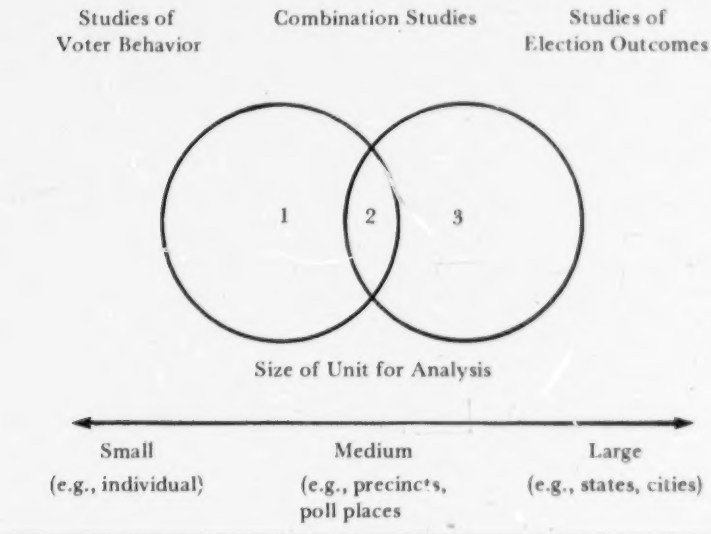
It is at this point that the effect of situational factors (short-term forces) is finally brought into the analysis. The voting behavior

*For an excellent illustration and discussion of this "funnel of causality" concept, see Natchez 1970, p. 562.

**Reference here is to the concept of individual psychological party identification as operationalized in the Survey Research Center (University of Michigan) studies.

FIGURE 1

A SCHEMATIC REPRESENTATION OF RESEARCH APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF VOTING BEHAVIOR IN SCHOOL FINANCIAL ELECTIONS



of individuals with weak partisan ties is more immediately influenced by the economic situation, foreign policy issues, candidate appeal, and other similar short-term forces. These factors, which constitute the "situation" dimension, are considered relatively insignificant in the decision-making process of most voters:

> Current pressures arising outside the political order continue to affect the [voter's] evaluation process, and from time to time they may contribute to a critical margin of political victory. Yet for most of the people most of the time such contemporary forces turn out to be but minor terms in the decision equation. *Campbell and others* 1966, p. 66

This "critical margin of political victory" is the overriding concern of studies encompassed by circle 3 of figure 1. Both by definition and design, most studies of election outcome begin by assessing the effect of situational influences on election results. Comparisons are made between elections at different times and in different geographical areas.

Just as studies of voting behavior may give cursory attention to the effect of situational variables on election outcome (frequently treating them together under the heading "stimulants to participation"), studies of election outcome may assess the varied impact of situations on certain kinds of voters. The overlap between voting behavior and election outcome is occasionally made clear in a single empirical study.

3

Some Partial Theories

In addition to the basic conceptual differences mentioned above, the literature we have reviewed explicates and tests (with varying degrees of precision) several distinct partial theories explaining the empirical relationships outlined in our data. Several of these partial theories are listed in table 1. This list is intended to cover the major explanations offered in the literature, and it does not necessarily cover the potential range of explanations. The need for additional theory to explain voting behavior in school financial elections is apparent from the obvious overlap and interrelationships among the partial theories listed.*

The seven labels provided in table 1 summarize the array of par-

*The overlapping and interrelated nature of both variables and partial theories commonplace to social research reflects the complexity of most social problems worth inquiry. For an excellent introductory statement of this problem and some of the means for coping with it, see Hubert M. Blalock, Jr., *An Introduction to Social Research* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970).

tial theories that are intended to explain many of the research findings we reviewed. In some cases, several narrower and slightly different theories have been classified together; in other instances, segments of larger theories are included in our partial theory system. In both cases, our intent is to provide summary theoretical statements that accurately reflect the substance and range of explanations occurring in the relevant research literature.

The data that we have perused may be summarized by this partial theory scheme. The fact that several findings from the empirical research we reviewed can be explained by more than one partial theory underscores the danger of accepting such a classification system as anything more than a simplified summary of the state-of-the-research. We can draw one conclusion with total certainty from this classification process: much more exploration is needed—many questions remain unanswered.

These questions are readily apparent from a perusal of the Appendix, which refers the reader to the research reviewed by listing the findings that served as our data base according to type of variable. Although this classification by variable type frequently suggests partial theory, the two concepts are not synonymous. The distinction between the two becomes apparent in examining the Appendix's cross-references to the partial theories presented in table 1. More than one entry is required for almost every variable, meaning that a similar table constructed to reflect the findings applicable to each partial theory would be several times as long. The message suggested by this overlap is clear: the researcher/theoretician should consider future research designs more directly attuned to a dynamic research/theory relationship.

The following review summarizes partial theories in light of the evidence referenced by variables in the Appendix.

Economic Self-Interest

Several researchers have assumed that the probability of school issue defeat will increase with the cost of the issue. Certainly, if a sizable number of voters are motivated by economic self-interest concerns, then the assumption is reasonable. Although a few studies report strong positive correlations between indicators of high cost and negative votes, by far the largest portion of evidence suggests that no significant relationship exists between relative issue cost and election outcome. A majority of relevant studies report the

TABLE 1

A LIST OF PARTIAL THEORIES USED TO EXPLAIN VOTING BEHAVIOR IN SCHOOL FINANCIAL ELECTIONS

Partial Theory	*Abbreviation*	*Useful References for Understanding the Theory**
Economic Self-Interest	ESI	Downs (1957 and 1962); Riker (1961); Wilson and Banfield (1964 and in Margolis 1965); and Frey and Kohn (1970)
Socioeconomic Status	SES	Milbrath (1965); Lazarsfeld, Berelson, and Gaudet (1948); Campbell and others (1964); and Lane (1959)
Community Responsibility Attitudes	CRA	Wood (1959); Hofstadter (1955); Downs (1962); Boskoff and Zeigler (1964); Wilson and Banfield (1964); and Agger and Goldstein (1971)
Social Distance Attitudes	SDA	Agger and Goldstein (1971); Horton and Thompson (1962); Aberbach (1969); *Journal of Social Issues* (Number 4, 1961); and Milbrath (1965)
Informed Democratic Electorate	IDE	Several articles in "observational" literature bibliography, and Carter and others (1966)
Politicized Electorate	PE	Coleman (1957); Key (June 1953); Campbell and others (1964); Salisbury and Black (1963); Jennings and Zeigler (1966); and Crain, Katz, and Rosenthal (1969)
Influence and Persuasion Channels	IPC	Klapper (1960); Lazarsfeld, Berelson, and Gaudet (1948); Berelson, Lazarsfeld, and McPhee (1954); Carter and Sutthoff (1960); and Carter and others (1966)

*This list is not intended to be inclusive, but these works provide both a good understanding of relevant theories and a comprehensive list of citations to relevant literature. Full citations are contained in the bibliography.

expected strong negative correlations between high cost and positive election outcome only when cost indicators are operationally defined as tax rate increases.

One plausible explanation for this apparently inconsistent body of evidence is that many voters are uncertain of the relationship between the cost of current school issues and the cost of similar issues both in other communities and in their own community at different times. According to this interpretation of the evidence, costs and attendant economic self-interest concerns may serve as important determinants of election outcomes only if they are dramatized to the voters. The combination of a significant increase in the tax rate and the increasingly watchful eye of the local media and taxpayers' associations appears likely to achieve the degree of exposure needed for prompting greater cost consciousness on the part of most voters.

Research indicating that cost variables are of little or no use in analyzing election results complicates interpretation of data but does not invalidate theories that stress the importance of the economic impact of issues. To clarify this apparent discrepancy, future research should focus on (1) assessing the voter's understanding of the relative and absolute cost of school financial issues and (2) examining the relationship between objective/subjective measures of cost/ability to pay and the influence of such measures on economic self-interest determinations.

Economic-based explanations of individual voting behavior receive significant support from findings that deal with the relationship between two demographic factors—age and parental status—and voter choice. Relevant studies unanimously agree that increasing age is strongly correlated with negative voting in school financial elections and that parental status (having school-aged children) is strongly related to positive voting in these elections.

The schools provide parents with obvious economic advantages. Parents cannot purchase schools' short-run "baby sitting" functions for an equivalent price on the open market, to say nothing of the long-run employment and salary benefits of education that are expected to accrue to the children. Clearly parents of school-aged children have a measurable economic stake in the schools.

Although school costs are absorbed by citizens of all ages, the direct benefits of education—even when measured by standards of the public good—appear to diminish for older voters. Particularly

among the retired, economic self-interest considerations would seem destined to prompt negative voting. In school elections, a retired person is asked to evaluate positively a proposal that, though it may benefit the public or perhaps a family member of another generation, will still take a significant portion of what is normally a reduced and fixed income.

The data from numerous studies strongly suggest that the parents of school-aged children (the trend is most pronounced among parents of children in the lower grades) and the elderly react to school financial proposals in predictable manners according to obvious economic motivations.

The utility of the economic self-interest explanation diminishes greatly, however, when it is applied to other classes of voters. Although renters pay at least a portion of the property tax on their dwellings, tax costs are more clearly evident to homeowners. It would seem reasonable, then, to assume that renters would be more likely to vote positively then would homeowners. The bulk of available evidence, however, strongly suggests that no appreciable difference exists between the voting patterns of homeowners and those of renters.

The economic self-interest model does not seem to apply to the wealthy either. Property taxes increase with the value of property, which is, of course, highly correlated with income and other measures of wealth. Nevertheless, higher income individuals frequently provide the greatest proportion of support for school financial issues. At the same time, there is no reason to assume that increased educational benefits within a school district accrue to wealthy individuals. Indeed, a case could be made for an inverse relationship between income and educational benefits—the unit cost for educational benefits may increase as an individual's income increases.

Part of the apparently anomalous behavior of the wealthy can be explained by the theory of the marginal utility of income: as dollars increase in numbers, their value to their possessor decreases. Indeed, future research needs to specify the relationship among marginal utility of income, perceived educational benefits, and voting in school financial elections. Regardless of the outcome of such research, however, available data and a logical interpretation of them suggest that an explanation beyond that of economic self-interest is needed to account for the support high-income individuals give school tax issues even though these individuals receive

little or no personal benefits from the schools.

SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS

An explanation of voting behavior that goes beyond economic self-interest focuses on socioeconomic status (SES). Persons who have acquired a relatively greater amount of commodities highly valued in a society (not only goods but respect, status, and so forth) are most likely to support public issues, according to several theories. Simply stated, these theories assume that individuals who have received the most benefits from society will probably want to reciprocate. For these individuals, social benefits have been translated into private dividends that have already been realized. It is, therefore, logical to suggest that these persons feel closer to the center of their communities and thus tend to be more aware of, concerned about, and interested in community projects and needs.

It is assumed that "higher class" individuals' long-range view of the public interest overshadows the narrow concerns of personal cost increases (within reasonable limits). Frequently, this view will lead them to support public issues. However, gaps between this theory and relevant research are signified by the phrase "within reasonable limits." If an issue demands a sufficiently large portion of personal resources, private economic concerns will override perceived public benefits, no matter how desirable the long-range effects may seem. Future research should specify the relationship, as perceived by the individual, between public benefits and private costs and the point at which private costs supplant public benefits as the dominant concern. If carried out with appropriate controls for social class status, such research would be a step toward an improved theory of the effect of social and economic influences on school election voting behavior.

In the meantime, we can note that there exists overwhelming evidence of a strong positive relationship between two common objective indicators of higher socioeconomic status—greater income and educational attainment—and positive voting in school financial elections. Substantially less evidence exists for assessing the relationship between other indicators of class and voting in these elections; moreover, there is less unanimity in that evidence.

A careful perusal of the findings arrayed in the Appendix suggests a number of future research needs that must be met by any attempt to refine partial theories of class and voting. For example,

should the data that describes a strong positive relationship between high socioeconomic class and positive voting in school elections be restated to reflect the potential curvilinearity of the relationship between class and voting? Such curvilinearity has been suggested by several findings from Jordan's (1966) quartile analysis of voting in Los Angeles school elections and by the unanimous finding that blacks are more likely than whites to vote in favor of school financial elections, despite the fact that blacks are disproportionately represented in the lower SES category (Wilson and Banfield 1964, Jordan 1966, Smith and others 1968, and Hahn and Almy 1971).

Community Responsibility and Social Distance Attitudes

As noted above, the economic self-interest theory of voting behavior is incomplete without a consideration of the apparently anomalous behavior of the upper socioeconomic segment of the population. Researchers who correlate social and economic class with social behavior posit that each class promotes a set of attitudes or beliefs that directly affects its members' behavior. The most important factor explaining the disproportionate positive voting in most school financial elections by individuals with incomes in excess of $20,000 may well be that they all see the world from a similar point of view that characterizes their class. However, a simpler explanation—that higher incomes increase the capacity to pay taxes—must apply in at least some of the cases.

It is important to determine if certain attitudes or attitude indexes such as "world views" or "life styles" are defined by class or are different from and more powerful than class and economic background as predictors of voting behavior. If these attitudes are separate from class and economic background, then their roots must obviously be traced to other sources—for example, personality factors, physiological needs and drives, and so forth. Boskoff and Zeigler's (1964) suggestion, which has received substantial support from attitude research, may represent the key departure point for defining future research needs:

> In the case of voting, perhaps status position and exposure to influence patterns may be regarded as the "transitory" component. Style of life, the complex of crucial attitudes and values by which resources and facilities are judged, may constitute the "permanent" component that is more decisively connected with voting choice in some sequence of elections. (1964, p. 141)

Because attitude configurations and class status are probably related but not perfectly overlapping, the relationship between attitude structures and behavior (in this case, voting behavior) deserves special attention. Community responsibility attitudes and social distance attitudes are two closely related attitudinal dimensions that have been the subject of a few high quality studies. A number of strong correlations between these attitudes and voting in local elections have been reported by studies that used differing operational procedures. Virtually unanimously, the studies agree that the individuals most likely to support school issues are those who have relatively strong community ties and who feel that they in some way contribute to and are affected by community and educational decision-making (Agger and Goldstein 1965 and 1971, Boskoff and Zeigler 1964, Carter and Sutthoff 1960, Fish 1964, Mahan 1968, McKelvey 1966, and Wilson and Banfield 1964 and 1971).

Exceptions to this generalization occur only when attempts are made to infer community responsibility attitudes from indirect but objective data such as length of residence or age. If it is assumed that the longer individuals reside in a community, the stronger their ties to that community are and the more likely they are to support school financial issues, then age and length of residence become important factors in predicting how members of a community will vote. However, these two qualities are frequently found to be totally unrelated to voting behavior in school financial elections. And some studies even indicate that the older an individual is and the longer he has resided in a community, the more likely it is that he will vote negatively on school financial issues.

Corroboration of the generalization based on community responsibility attitudes is available from evidence suggesting that individuals who feel extremely distant from community power centers, powerless to affect community decisions, and distrustful of perceived decision-makers, are much more likely to oppose school financial and other public issues than those with a less pessimistic view of the community (Horton and Thompson 1962, Gold 1962, Templeton 1966, Agger and Goldstein 1965 and 1971, and Milstein and Jennings 1970).

These findings suggest that support for or opposition to school issues is frequently a function of an individual's perception of his relationship to his community. A voter's attitude toward the

community decision-making (political) process is an important indicator of the direction of his vote in school financial elections. However, broad ideological loyalties (conservative/liberal) are not good indicators of voting direction in the same elections (Mahan 1968, Jordan 1964, Boskoff and Zeigler 1964, and Fish 1964).

A fairly even division exists between studies that do and studies that do not report a significant relationship between partisan national and nonpartisan local voting patterns of individuals and groups exhibiting varying social and partisan predispositions. Any assessment of the stability of attitudinal determinants must take this division into consideration. Several studies have found no significant relationship between voting patterns in partisan national and nonpartisan local elections (Boskoff and Zeigler 1964, Templeton 1966, Jordan 1966, Hahn and Almy 1971, Key 1953, and Salisbury and Black 1963). These studies tend to disprove the hypothesis that relatively permanent attitudinal configurations originate in status and underlie predictable patterns of voter choice regardless of the type of election. Such findings, of course, do not reflect on hypotheses positing a relationship between a particular attitudinal configuration and voting in a particular election. Nor do they call into question the relationship between attitudes and voting if objective indicators of concepts such as class fail to identify the attitudinal syndrome most directly affecting the voting decision. Future research needs to specify the best possible attitudinal syndrome for each type of election, controlling for variables such as class and partisan affiliation.

Stimulating Voter Participation: The Informed Democratic versus the Politicized Electorate

The theory and research summarized in the Appendix provide a basis for understanding "normal" voter behavior in school financial elections. The concept of "normalcy" is based on an assumption implicit in most school voting research—research that asks why some voters make positive choices while others make negative ones. That assumption is that voting behavior is not simply random or unexplainable individual behavior but is, instead, patterned and predictable. Apparently, the assumption is correct since evidence suggests that when all other factors are considered, the direction in which many individuals vote can be predicted on the basis of other, nonpolitical information. Indeed, some facts about a voter's

background characteristics and his voting in past school elections not only help predict his future vote but are also useful in explaining why voting in these elections is a consistent (over time) act for many individuals.

Because it is not possible to hold all variables constant in the real world, the accuracy of predictions based on "normal" voting behavior diminishes. Those who would like to effect fundamental change in voting patterns should note the evidence from studies concerned with the following basic questions: To what extent do certain environmental and political forces affect school financial election outcomes? Or, when does a school election situation become "abnormal," and what are the consequences?

Answers to the above questions provide the basis for assessing general theories of voter behavior dealing with the effects of participation stimulants on election outcome. These theories recognize that the "normal electorate" in these elections is smaller than the voting population in many other elections and much smaller than the eligible voting population. This recognition has prompted some school supporters to plead for greater voter turnout, a fact made obvious from a survey of educational journal articles. As Beal and others report, "numerous articles are devoted to the topic of encouraging all eligible voters to register and vote" (1966, p. 8). The observational literature indicates that many school officials would probably second the following motion offered by one school superintendent on the eve of a recent budget election:

> We want bodies to come in and vote. I can't really say that it isn't important to me whether they vote yes or not, but it's very important that we do have a large vote so the board has a clear mandate from the people of the district.
>
> *Thoele* (1971)

This desire for greater voter participation in school elections is based on a strong faith in the democratic process. So are the frequent admonitions for bigger and better multiple-media campaigns. The assumption inherent in campaigns that stress greater public participation in school financial decision-making is that the schools have a constant broad base of popular support. Such an assumption leads one to believe that issue success is simply a matter of informing voters of a need and reminding them to vote. This theory is explicitly stated in at least one "how-to-win" article:

> . . . We realized that a successful bond issue depended upon the voters having enough information on which to base a decision. Informed citizens will vote for school bonds—9 out of 10 times.
>
> *Beal and others* (1966, p. 13)

Empirical support for this faith in the informed democratic electorate is almost nonexistent. It appears valid to assert the existence of widespread, basically favorable attitudes toward education (Carter and Sutthoff 1960, Agger and Goldstein 1965 and 1971, McKelvey 1966, Fish 1964, and Mahan 1968). However, these attitudes appear to be relatively unimportant determinants of school election voting patterns.

INCREASED PARTICIPATION: A MISCONCEPTION

A more directly relevant relationship is the persistently strong correlation between turnout increases and negative voting (at least in first-time elections). When coupled with the frequent lack of positive correlation between many campaign techniques and election success, this evidence strongly suggests that trust in the democratic electorate to respond positively to school issues is seldom anything more than an act of faith.

School-related conflict, which raises voters' political awareness, is the most likely causal agent underlying the strong positive correlation between high turnout and negative voting. Substantiation of this assertion is provided by theory and research from different kinds of community studies, together with evidence from studies assessing the relationship among levels of community conflict, interest group activity, and school financial election outcome.*

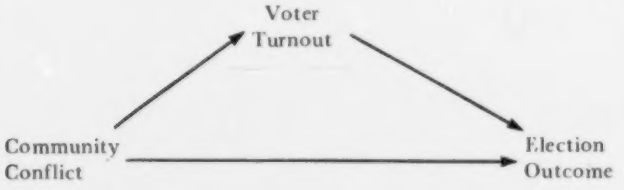
Such theory and research provide the basis for understanding the relationship among three variables: community conflict, voter turnout, and election outcome (see figure 2). An increase in conflict results in high turnout, which, in turn, leads to negative outcome. However, a given conflict can be a direct stimulus to negative outcome, in spite of the size of the turnout. Therefore, if a conflict leads to both greater negativism toward the schools and an abnormally high turnout for a school election, then it is difficult to assign direct causes to the final effect (negative outcome).

*Reference here is to literature dealing with community conflict. Particularly useful works are those by Coleman (1957), Coser (1967), and Mack (1965).

A causal model of this explanation—admittedly an oversimplification—is provided in figure 2. As the arrows in the diagram indicate, this explanation assumes that conflict stimulates a relatively high negative response from the electorate in addition to a high voter turnout for the election in question.

FIGURE 2

A SCHEMATIC REPRESENTATION OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN COMMUNITY CONFLICT, VOTER TURNOUT, AND OUTCOME IN SCHOOL FINANCIAL ELECTIONS



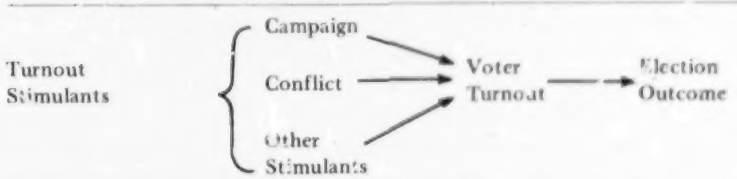
This model emphasizes the impact of conflict on election outcome regardless of the size of the voter turnout. To the extent that this explanation holds true, it tends to render irrelevant debates concerning the impact of voter turnout, democratic versus elite decision-making in school affairs, and other hypotheses dealing with the effect of changing participation rates.

Additional evidence suggests the need for a subtle but important modification of the model that will reflect the centrality of the participation variable in predicting election outcomes. Figure 3 reflects this modification.

This model suggests that a number of highly changeable forces—some controllable by schools, others not—directly affect participation increases, which, in turn, affect the probability of election defeat. As indicated in this model, community conflict is only one contributor to the high correlation between size of turnout and issue defeat.

FIGURE 3

A SCHEMATIC REPRESENTATION OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TURNOUT STIMULANTS, VOTER TURNOUT, AND OUTCOME IN SCHOOL FINANCIAL ELECTIONS



LIKELY PARTICIPANTS AND YES VOTERS: SHARED CHARACTERISTICS

Profiles of persons most likely to vote and persons most likely to vote yes provide another explanation for election outcome. These profiles are based on the background factors that appear most strongly associated with voter participation, choice, and attitudes. Table 2 presents these voter profiles.

TABLE 2

CHARACTERISTICS OF INDIVIDUALS MOST LIKELY TO PARTICIPATE IN AND VOTE IN FAVOR OF SCHOOL FINANCIAL ELECTIONS

Most Likely Participants	*Most Likely Yes Voters*
parents of school-aged children	parents of school-aged children
high income	high income
high education	high education
middle-aged	younger
whites	blacks
homeowners	NSD (not sufficient data)
high interest in schools	high interest in schools, community
trusting (opposites from the alienation syndrome)	trusting (opposites from the alienation syndrome)

The most striking feature of table 2 is the similarity it indicates between the two profiles. The "Most Likely Participants" column provides a starting point for analyzing school elections by describing the normal voters. If the second column, which describes the most likely yes voters, differed significantly from the first, then the answer to the school's financial problems would lie in implementing the democratic process; that is, increasing voter turnout. The columns are, however, remarkably similar, which means that in most instances the voter who is most favorably predisposed toward the schools is already well represented in school financial elections. As a result, a general increase in turnout will produce a relatively greater representation of those less likely to favor school financial issues. This result is directly explained by Tingsten's Law of Dispersion (1963)—an increase in participation yields a more representative sample of the total eligible population.

A second major branch of knowledge corroborates the suggestion that traditional campaigns designed to increase voter participation in school financial elections may not meet their intended objective. Communications research has established that mass media campaigns are more likely to affect the behavior of certain subpopulations (selective audiences) within the general population. In almost every case, those identifiable subpopulations affected are groups possessing characteristics far different from those of the "Most Likely Yes Voters" described in table 2.

THE IMPORTANCE OF VOTER PREDISPOSITION

Both the law of dispersion and the results of communications research support the conclusion apparent from other evidence concerning the relative importance of voter predispositions, attitudes, and backgrounds: a very large number of voters and potential voters in school financial elections have made a standing decision about the direction of their vote. Unfortunately for the schools, the standing decision of a majority of people in the voting pool appears to have changed from support to opposition.

Recent survey data suggest that the law of dispersion remains in effect. Table 3 compares the actual voting behavior of people who voted with the intended voting behavior of those who did not vote. The table reports data from two surveys—one of a national sample by Gallup (1969) and one of New York State by Milstein and Jennings (1970).

TABLE 3

ACTUAL AND INTENDED VOTING BEHAVIOR IN SCHOOL FINANCIAL ELECTIONS: 1969

	New York State		*National*	
	Voters	*Nonvoters*	*Voters*	*Total Sample (including nonvoters)*
FOR	56%	51%	47%	45%
AGAINST	44	49	47	49
Undecided	NA (not applicable)	NA	6	6
Total	100	100	100	100

Clearly, from the schools' point of view, nothing can be gained by increasing the number of citizens who vote in school elections to include those who are eligible to vote but do not do so.

4

Theory of the Normal Vote: Potentials and Problems

Both the research findings and partial theories reviewed have presented a strong case for basing predictions of school election outcomes on a base-line profile of a community's "normal vote." Despite the widespread use of the normal vote concept, all normal vote theories are limited because they are static. Whether one is attempting to explain a presidential election outcome on the basis of the normal partisan division of the electorate or to explain the outcome of a nonpartisan election on the basis of social, economic, or psychological criteria, the "norm" or base-line data must be subject to constant reevaluation.

These data suggest a fundamental and widespread change in the nation's school election voting patterns. Beginning sometime in the late 1960s, the proportion of defeated school financial issues has increased annually. Corroborative data from recent annual Gallup (1969, 1970, 1971, and 1972) surveys of citizen attitudes suggest that the nationwide trend toward negative voting in school elections is continuing. Table 4 combines the Gallup data from four

nationwide samples of the responses adults gave to a question designed to ascertain their probable vote in a school financial election. The same question was used each year: "Suppose the local public schools said they needed much more money. As you feel at this time, would you vote to raise taxes for this purpose, or would you vote against raising taxes for this purpose?"

TABLE 4

RESPONSE OF NATIONAL SAMPLE TO GALLUP POLL OF PUBLIC ATTITUDES TOWARD EDUCATION: 1969-1972*

		National Totals	*No Children in Schools*	*Public School Parents*	*Private School Parents*
1969					
	For	45%	41%	51%	40%
	Against	49	53	44	56
	No Opinion	6	6	5	4
1970					
	For	37	35	43	37
	Against	56	57	53	58
	No Opinion	7	8	4	5
1971					
	For	40	37	44	37
	Against	52	53	49	59
	No Opinion	8	10	7	4
1972					
	For	36	35	37	38
	Against	56	56	56	55
	No Opinion	8	9	7	7

*Source: Gallup 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972.

The first column of table 4 indicates that an increasing number of individuals are negatively predisposed toward school financial issues. The remaining columns reflect an important change in one major component of the normal vote model suggested in table 2 and in the ensuing discussion: parental status. In 1969, a majority of adults with children attending public schools would have voted in favor of a school financial proposal, while a majority of individuals without children in the public schools or with children in private schools would have voted against such a proposal. By 1972, however, parental status had become useless as a predictor of voter predisposition toward school financial issues. Fifty-six percent of parents with children in public schools, as well as the same percentage of voters without school-aged children and of the total sample of voters, would have opposed a school financial issue requiring additional tax support.

ISSUE DEFEAT AND TURNOUT FLUCTUATIONS

The implications of this shift in public opinion are obvious. The four annual Gallup surveys reflect a trend toward a greater unanimity of opinion among individuals characterized by divergent income, age, and other important demographic factors, as well as by differing parental status. Thus, to the extent that the surveys are valid (that the question accurately elicits actual voting responses) and to the extent that the national samples represent actual community populations, turnout fluctuations along a number of seemingly important dimensions would have little effect on reversing the contemporary trend toward defeat of school financial issues. A nationwide school financial election held in April of 1972 would have lost by almost exactly the same margin (56 percent opposed) *even if* the electorate could have been restricted to *only* parents of public school children, *only* parents of private school children, or *only* voters without school children.

Of course, we cannot conclude on the basis of this evidence alone that the composition of the turnout would have made no difference in 1972 or will not do so in future elections. As table 5 indicates, the increase in the proportion of negative response is not as dramatic in categories such as income and age as it is in parental status.

The picture presented in table 5 is not a pleasant one for school supporters even though it provides some basis for expecting

TABLE 5

PERCENTAGES BY SELECTED BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS OF ADULTS WHO WOULD VOTE AGAINST SCHOOL TAX INCREASES: GALLUP SURVEYS OF 1969 AND 1972*

Category	*Percent Opposed* 1969	1972	*Net Change*
TOTAL SAMPLE	49%	56%	+7%
AGE			
Under 21	NA	42	NA
21-29 yrs.	39	49	+10
30-49 yrs.	48	57	+9
50 yrs. +	55	61	+6
INCOME			
Under $3,000	57**	58	+1
3,000-4,999	50**	64	+14
5,000-6,999	50	58	+8
7,000-9,999	48	59	+11
10,000-14,999	47	52	+5
15,000 +	41	54	+13
EDUCATION			
Elementary Grades	60	64	+4
High School Incomplete	54	61	+7
High School Complete	50	60	+10
Technical, Trade, or Business School	47	59	+12
College Incomplete	43	45	+2
College Graduate	34	41	+7
OCCUPATION			
Nonlabor Force	53	62	+9
Unskilled Labor	56	61	+5
Skilled Labor	47	60	+13
Farm	62	65	+3
Clerical and Sales	52	47	-5
Business and Professional	40	50	+10
RACE			
Nonwhite	47	48	+1
White	49	57	+8

*Sources: Gallup 1969 (pp. 79-80) and 1972 (p. 42).

**Approximate percentages obtained by collapsing two more discrete categories.

election results to vary if voters from the different categories sampled are disproportionately represented. In 1972, if voter preferences in an average school district had conformed to the percentages in the table, school financial election success could have been guaranteed only if a very select group—a highly "abnormal" electorate—had been allowed to vote: nonwhite college graduates under 30 who are earning between $10,000-$15,000 a year in clerical or sales occupations. Even if participation had been restricted in this absurd way, however, the 1972 election would have been close. At a minimum, over 40 percent of the voters in this group would have voted no. Even if participation and these demographic categories had been the only variables, issue success was simply more difficult to accomplish in 1972 than it had been in 1969, and much more difficult than it had been in years prior to 1969.

The data arrayed in tables 4 and 5 do not necessitate wholesale revision of earlier propositions attempting to explain what groups of voters are most likely to support school issues and why support from these groups can be expected. Such revision is not required because, in the first place, these surveys may point to, but do not necessarily represent, a trend. Second, the surveys represent only the nation's adult population, not the likely participants in school elections and certainly not the voting pools of particular communities. Finally, other data classifications within these categories might indicate alterations in apparent trends. For instance, in the income category of table 5, the net change of 13 percent may not apply to all income levels above $15,000. Additional breakdowns of this category may yield different results. Clearly, further longitudinal research is needed both at the national level to validate these trends and to test for change in other important variables, and at the local level to avoid the error of ". . . personification—treating micro units as analogues of macro units and extending findings accordingly" (Eulau 1963, pp. 126-127).

Even if it is assumed that the Gallup data represent valid trends that can be found in many communities, the demographic profiles of the voters most likely to make positive and negative choices appear to have changed very little over time. The most reliable sources for positive votes in school elections are still the young, highly educated, relatively wealthy, white-collar workers (the "Most Likely Yes Voters" outlined in table 2). The problem for the schools is that there are simply fewer yes votes available.

INCOME AND EDUCATION LEVELS: ADEQUATE PREDICTORS OF VOTER BEHAVIOR?

However, the future longitudinal research called for above should not ignore potential deviations suggested by some of the highest net changes listed in table 5. The dramatic increases in negative voting among those in business and professional jobs with incomes exceeding $15,000 are particularly relevant to hypotheses dealing with the impact of national economic conditions on personal cost-benefit determinations, which may in turn affect voting in school elections. Perhaps most relevant to future research is what appears to be the beginning of a separation of the trend lines charting the relationship between voting intentions and two seminal indicators of SES—income and education. These recent data indicate marked instability at the extremes of the income scale—areas that were formerly among the most reliable vote predictors. The education scale, on the other hand, has remained relatively stable at the extremes with the only major changes occurring among trade and business students and high school graduates. If these data remain consistent, the validity of income and education levels as predictors of voter behavior may be subject to change.

5

Conclusion: Linking Research to Practice

One purpose of this paper is to highlight those points in the existing array of research and theory most in need of further research clarification. Inevitably in many instances, important future research needs are implied but not fully explained.

Second, we have assumed that the evidence presented in this report may be used by individuals attempting to affect the outcome of school financial elections. From many of the propositions developed here, both supporters and opponents of school financial issues will be able to garner insights to improve their election strategies. We reemphasize, however, that we have not intended to write a "how to win a school election" manual. Although a number of reports provide such prescriptions, most observations are not based on empirical research and are frequently valid only for the election and point of time at hand.* Indeed, an obvious and

*Exceptions that offer sound and specific tactical advice in light of what we know from empirical research can be found in William J. Banach and

major conclusion to be drawn from much of the research reviewed in this paper is that many important determinants of school election outcome are not amenable to manipulation or control by anyone—friend or foe of the schools—employing traditional campaign techniques.

However, a certain degree of control remains feasible. Initially, the school official who wants to achieve success in financial elections must test the extent to which his election situation and community demographic and attitudinal profile match the generalizations developed here. The message clearly indicated by the evidence presented in this paper is that school districts attempting to influence election outcomes should, at the outset, spend more resources on analyzing their constituency and less on blatant attempts to influence the direction of the vote over a six-week campaign period. To a certain extent, officials may base their analysis on intuition. But since aggregate voting and census records are cheap and easily obtainable, they should be used to identify pockets of support and resistance within particular communities.

Survey research is a most useful data source that can provide the school official with his own positive/negative voter profile, which will be more accurate than the one developed here.* Although survey research is somewhat more costly than aggregate data collection, its cost should be relatively low compared to the costs commonly associated with campaigns, repeated elections, and so forth.

Assuming that the voting behavior of members of his community matches the generalizations developed here, the school official may choose among several alternatives. These alternatives involve significant value questions, and the official's decision about how to conduct an election campaign must be based both on his knowledge of the total situation and on his own value system.

If a school district's research identifies a relatively stable, small

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Lawrence Westley, "Public Relations, Computers, and Election Success," paper presented to the Association for Educational Data Systems, St. Paul, Minnesota, May 19, 1972; and C. Montgomery Johnson, *Public Opinion, Voter Behavior, and School Support* (Olympia, Washington: S.C.O.R.E., 1971.)

*For excellent technical advice along with some of the supporting rationale developed here, see Michael Y. Nunnery and Ralph B. Kimbrough, *Politics, Power, Polls, and School Elections* (Berkeley: McCutchan Publishing Co., 1971).

block of voters who regularly vote in school elections, if this block is well described by our model participant profile (table 2), and if there has been a gradual shift in that block's vote in all subcategories of the voting pool in the direction of greater negative voting, then the campaign can take one of five possible directions. Attempts can be made to

1. Increase general participation, assuming the larger voting pool will be more favorable
2. Discourage participation, assuming the smaller group of participants will be more favorable
3. Selectively recruit more yes voters, assuming the no vote will remain constant
4. Selectively discourage participation of no voters, assuming the yes vote will remain constant
5. Change the net distribution of the normal vote division from less no to more yes choices

The evidence reviewed here strongly suggests that greater participation is seldom the road to election success. On the other hand, attempts to discourage participation, on either a selective or mass basis, involve obvious value dilemmas within the democratic framework. The long-run solution that many would opt for is to create a more favorable distribution of voters (number 5), but we doubt that any single group of school supporters can accomplish this goal except over a long period of time.

The tactical direction that is suggested by the evidence presented in this paper and that is also congruent with politics as practiced in a democracy is alternative number 3: many districts will be forced to take advantage of normally low turnouts by selectively recruiting more voters who are likely to favor the issue at hand while assuming that the negative votes will remain constant. At least for the short run and from a pragmatic perspective, school finance in many communities may depend on vigorous political campaigns designed to stimulate maximum participation of likely school supporters.

Appendix

APPENDIX

SYNTHESIS OF EMPIRICAL RESEARCH ON VOTING IN SCHOOL FINANCIAL ELECTIONS: CORRELATES TO "YES VOTING" AND ELECTION SUCCESS*

VARIABLE**	DIRECTION OF CORRELATION*** *Sig. +*	*Sig. -*	*Nsr*	PARTIAL**** THEORY
FACTOR I. SCHOOL DISTRICT CHARACTERISTICS: WEALTH AND ORGANIZATION				
Property Assessment Rate (Assessed Valuation)	Jordan 1966 Davidson 1967	Barbour 1966 Davidson 1967	Fish 1964 Murphy 1966 Beal et al. 1966 Crider 1967 Hicks 1967 Tebbutt 1968	ESI, SES
Real Dollar Size of Issue		Barbour 1966 Cooper 1967	Hicks 1967 Dykstra 1964	ESI
Millage Size (Tax Rate)	Davidson 1967	Saalfeld 1972 Goettel 1971	Beal et al. 1966 Dykstra 1964 Barbour 1966 Marlowe 1970 Wirt & Kirst 1972	ESI
Tax Rate Increases (different time periods)	Wentzel 1964 Varden 1973	N.Y. State Ed. Dept. 1970 Fish 1964 Saalfeld 1972		ESI

Taxable Wealth (operational variation includes per pupil and proportion of local taxes)	Marlowe 1970 Dykstra 1964	Goettel 1971	N.Y. State Ed. Dept. 1970 Dykstra 1964 Saalfeld 1972	SES, ESI
Per Pupil Expenditure	Davidson 1967		Smith et al. 1968 N.Y. State Ed. Dept. 1970 Marlowe 1970 Hicks 1967	SES, ESI, PE
School Ownership (proportion of nonpublic schools in district)	Barbour 1966 Dykstra 1964 (in high school districts)		Dykstra 1964 Wentzel 1964 Beal et al. 1966	ESI
Board Control (index including length of term, select procedures, etc.)	Carter & Sutthoff 1960 (bond elections) Carter & Ruggels 1966 (medium sized districts)		Carter & Sutthoff 1960 (tax elections) Carter & Ruggels 1966 (large & small)	IPC, IDE., PE
School District Type (elementary, H.S., consolidated, etc.)	Davidson 1967		Beal et al. 1966 Barbour 1966	ESI, IPC

* Dependent variables

** Independent variables

*** The variable in question was positively *(Sig.+)* or negatively *(Sig.-)* associated with election success or "yes" voting, or found to be not statistically related *(Nsr)* to those dependent variables.

**** Refers to the partial theories listed in table 1

VARIABLE**	DIRECTION OF CORRELATION*** *Sig. +*	*Sig. -*	*Nsr*	PARTIAL**** THEORY
School District Size (number of students)	Barbour 1966 Beal et al. 1966	Carter & Sutthoff 1960 Davidson 1967 Saalfeld 1972	Beal et al. 1966 Minar 1966 Dykstra 1964 Hicks 1967 N.Y. State Ed. Dept. 1970 Wentzel 1964 Crider 1967	IPC, SDA
Board Solidarity (agreement over necessity of board proposal)	Crider 1967 Carter & Ruggels 1966			IPC
Board Selection Procedures (elected vs. appointed)	Carter & Sutthoff 1960 (bond: appointing districts more likely to succeed)		Carter & Sutthoff 1960 (tax)	IPC, IDE, PE
Board Status (socioeconomic)	Minar 1966			IPC, SES, PE, IDE
Board Longevity (terms more or less than 2 years)	Carter & Sutthoff 1960 (in medium sized districts for tax elections; in large districts for bond elections)		Carter & Sutthoff 1960 (medium, small size-bond; large and small-tax)	IPC, PE
Superintendent Experience	Carter & Ruggels 1966		Barbour 1966	IPC

Board Attitude (toward various "goals" for their schools)	Carter & Ruggels 1966			IPC
Teacher-Pupil Ratio			N.Y. State Ed. Dept. 1970	ESI
Use of Bussing			Dykstra 1964	PE
Teacher Salary Increases			Goettel 1971 Carter & Ruggels 1966	PE
District Indebtedness		Davidson 1967	Hicks 1967 Goettel 1971	ESI, SES
FACTOR II: ELECTION CHARACTERISTICS				
Concurrent Elections (school bond or tax issues appearing on ballot with state or national candidates or issues)	Marlowe 1970	Kean 1964 Murphy 1966 (1st time elct.)	Crider 1967 Murphy 1966 (subsequent elect.)	PE, IDE
Stated Purpose of Issue	Crider 1967 Barbour 1966 Kean 1964		Beal et al. 1966	IPC, IDE

** Independent variables

*** The variable in question was positively *(Sig.+)* or negatively *(Sig.-)* associated with election success or "yes" voting, or found to be not statistically related *(Nsr)* to those dependent variables.

**** Refers to the partial theories listed in table 1

VARIABLE**	DIRECTION OF CORRELATION*** *Sig. +*	*Sig. -*	*Nsr*	PARTIAL**** THEORY
Time of Year (operationalized according to season, months, quarter, etc.)			Murphy 1966 Kean 1964 Beal et al. 1966 Barbour 1966 Crider 1967	PE., IDE.
Past Voting Patterns– School Financial Elections	Willis (winter 1967-68) (areas with records of either extremely high or low support for SFE. are less likely than med. support areas to change) Beal et al. 1966 Saalfeld 1972 Nelson 1968 Varden 1973			PE., IPC
Past Voting Patterns– Other Elections (the relationship between voting in local nonpartisan elections and national partisan contests)	Jennings & Zeigler 1966 Williams & Adrian 1959 Salisbury & Black 1963 (voting for elective office; local nonpart. and national partisan)		Boskoff & Zeigler 1964 Templeton 1966 Jordan 1966 Hahn & Almy 1971 Key 1953 Salisbury & Black 1963 (referenda and partisan office)	PE., IPC, IDE., SES
Turnout	Spinner 1967 (other than first time elections)	Carter et al. 1960, 1961, 1966 Lieber 1967	Stone 1965 Beal et al. 1966 Turner 1968	PE., IDE., IPC

(continued)

Turnout *(continued)*	Marlowe 1970 (urban areas) Willis (winter 1967-68) (suburban areas)	Wentzel 1964 Spinner 1967 (first time elections) Barbour 1966 Willis (winter 1967-68) Goettel 1971 Marlowe 1970 Crider 1967 Minar 1966 Jordan 1966 Dykstra 1964	Murphy 1966 Boskoff & Zeigler 1964 Hahn (December 1968)	
Election Frequency (number of elections held over a five-year period)		Beal et al. 1966		PE
Election Type	Minar 1966 Carter & Savard 1961 (voter dissent is likely to be higher for tax rate than for bond or miscellaneous issues)			PE, ESI
FACTOR III: VOTER DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS				
Income *(continued)*	Boskoff & Zeigler 1964	McMahon 1966	Tebbutt 1968 Hicks 1967	SES, ESI

** Independent variables

*** The variable in question was positively *(Sig.+)* or negatively *(Sig.-)* associated with election success or "yes" voting, or found to be not statistically related *(Nsr)* to those dependent variables.

**** Refers to the partial theories listed in table 1

VARIABLE**	DIRECTION OF CORRELATION*** *Sig. +*	*Sig. -*	*Nsr*	PARTIAL**** THEORY
Income *(continued)*	Milstein & Jennings 1970 Smith et al. 1968 Fish 1964 Hahn & Almy 1971 Gallup 1969 Schoonhoven & Patterson 1966 Hatley 1970 Wilson & Banfield 1971 Davidson 1967		Jordan 1966	
Education	McKelvey 1966 Tebbutt 1968 Schoonhoven & Patterson 1966 Jordan 1966 Gallup 1969 Hatley 1971 Hahn & Almy 1971 Wilson & Banfield 1971	McMahon 1966 Davidson 1967 Jordan 1966		SES, CRA, SDA, IPC, ESI
Occupation	Carter & Ruggels 1966	McMahon 1966	Tebbutt 1968 Boskoff & Zeigler 1964	SES, ESI
SES (Index)	Boskoff & Zeigler 1964	Turner 1968 Jordan 1966		SES, ESI

(continued)

SES (Index) *(continued)*	Minar 1966 Willis (winter 1967-68)			
Home Ownership	Jordan 1966	McKelvey 1966 Smith et al. 1968	Wentzel 1964 Cooper 1967 Hicks 1967 Tebbutt 1968	SES, ESI
Age		McKelvey 1966 Carter & Ruggels 1966 King 1963 Tebbutt 1968 Smith et al. 1968 McMahon 1966 Jordan 1966 Boskoff & Zeigler 1964		ESI, CRA
Child Status	King et al. 1963 Fish 1964 Smith et al. 1964 Schoonhoven & Patterson 1966 Tebbutt 1968 Gallup 1969			ESI, IPC

(continued)

** Independent variables

*** The variable in question was positively *(Sig.+)* or negatively *(Sig.-)* associated with election success or "yes" voting, or found to be not statistically related *(Nsr)* to those dependent variables.

**** Refers to the partial theories listed in table 1

VARIABLE**	DIRECTION OF CORRELATION*** *Sig. +*	*Sig. -*	*Nsr*	PARTIAL**** THEORY
Child Status *(continued)*	Hatley 1970 Carter & Ruggels 1966			
Sex	Smith et al. 1964 (men=more likely) Boskoff & Zeigler 1964 (women=more likely)		Mahan 1968 Tebbutt 1968	ESI
Area of Residence	King et al. 1963 Jordan 1966 Boskoff & Zeigler 1964 (urban/suburban)		Smith et al. 1964 Boskoff & Zeigler 1964 (previous residential background)	SES, ESI, CRA
Length of Residence		Smith et al. 1964 Milstein & Jennings 1970	Tebbutt 1968 Jordan 1966 Boskoff & Zeigler 1964	CRA
Race (operationally, blacks=more likely than whites)	Smith et al. 1968 Jordan 1966 Hahn & Almy 1971 Wilson & Banfield 1964 Wirt & Kirst 1972			SES, ESI
Marital Status	Smith et al. 1968			ESI
Party Affiliation	Carter & Ruggels 1966 (greater Demo % of dists. reg. voters= greater yes vote)			PE

Religious Affiliation (Catholics=less likely)	Smith et al. 1968 Carter & Ruggels 1966 Gans 1967	Tebbutt 1968	ESI
FACTOR IV: VOTER PSYCHOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS			
Cynicism (toward school officials)	Agger & Goldstein 1965, 1971 Parnell 1964 Milstein & Jennings 1970		SDA
Educational Attitudes	Carter & Sutthoff 1960 Agger & Goldstein 1965, 1971 McKelvey 1966 Fish 1964 Mahan 1968	Milstein & Jennings 1970	SDA, CRA, IDE
Civic Improvement	Agger & Goldstein 1965, 1971 Boskoff & Zeigler 1964 Wilson & Banfield 1964, 1971		CRA
Ideological Orientation *(continued)*	Carter & Ruggels 1966	Mahan 1968 Jordan 1964	PE

** Independent variables

*** The variable in question was positively *(Sig.+)* or negatively *(Sig.-)* associated with election success or "yes" voting or found to be not statistically related *(Nsr)* to those dependent variables.

**** Refers to the partial theories listed in table 1

VARIABLE**	DIRECTION OF CORRELATION*** *Sig. +*	*Sig. -*	*Nsr*	PARTIAL**** THEORY
Ideological Orientation *(continued)*			Boskoff & Zeigler 1964	
Tax Orientation	Agger & Goldstein 1965, 1971 Carter and Ruggels 1966 Milstein & Jennings 1970			ESI, CRA
Alienation		Horton & Thompson 1962 Gold 1962 Templeton 1966 Agger & Goldstein 1965, 1971		SDA, CRA
Economic Orientation			Mahan 1968 Fish 1964	SES
Cognitive Consistency	Carter & Chaffee 1966		Agger & Goldstein 1971	IPC
FACTOR V: INFORMATION FACTORS. SOURCE AND CONTENT				
Information Source	Fish 1964 Carter & Sutthoff 1960 Tebbutt 1968 Boskoff & Zeigler 1964			IPC

Voter Participation Stimulants		Beal et al. 1966 Carter & Ruggels 1966	Beal et al. 1966	IDE, PE, IPC
Use of Citizen Advisory Committee	Davidson 1967	Barbour 1966	Carter & Chaffee 1965 Crider 1967 Beal et al. 1966	IDE, IPC
Use of Consultants		Barbour 1966	Beal et al. 1966	IDE, IPC
Campaign Technique Effort		Carter & Ruggels 1966 Beal et al. 1966	Turner 1968 Whisler 1965 Beal et al. 1966 Boskoff & Zeigler 1964 Berner 1969	IDE, IPC
Length of Campaign	Beal et al. 1966 Barbour 1966 Crider 1967		Murphy 1966	IDE, IPC
Participation in School Affairs (direct and indirect)	Carter & Sutthoff 1960		Boskoff & Zeigler 1964 Tebbutt 1968	IPC, IDE, ESI
Newspaper Support			Beal et al. 1966 Barbour 1966	IPC

** Dependent variables

*** The variable in question was positively *(Sig.+)* or negatively *(Sig.-)* associated with election success or "yes" voting, or found to be not statistically related *(Nsr)* to those dependent variables.

**** Refers to the partial theories listed in table 1

VARIABLE**	DIRECTION OF CORRELATION*** *Sig. +*	*Sig. -*	*Nsr*	PARTIAL**** THEORY
FACTOR VI: POLITICAL CHARACTERISTICS (CROSS-REFERENCE WITH FACTOR II: ELECTION CHARACTERISTICS)				
Interest Group Activity		Jennings & Zeigler 1970 Crider 1967 Carter & Ruggels 1966 Berner 1969 Meyers 1964	Beal et al. 1966	PE., IDE., IPC
Community Conflict (as assessed via a variety of observational techniques)		Carter & Ruggels 1966 Minar 1966 King et al. 1963 Gans 1967 Masotti 1967 Goldhammer & Pellegrin 1968		CRA, PE
School-Community Relations		Carter & Ruggels 1966		IPC, IDE

** Dependent variables

*** The variable in question was positively *(Sig.+)* or negatively *(Sig.-)* associated with election success or "yes" voting, or found to be not statistically related *(Nsr)* to those dependent variables.

**** Refers to the partial theories listed in table 1

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